

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 4358

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP, JA

SUBJ: MIYAZAWA VISIT: AGENDA TOPIC TWO - SECURITY RELATIONS

REF: TOKYO 4289

1. DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRESSURE GENERATED DURING THE CURRENT DEBATE OVER RATIFICATION OF THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY IS BEHIND THE GOJ DESIRE FOR SOME REITERATION OF ON US DEFENSE COMMITMENTS TOWARD JAPAN\$7 THE SMALL BUT TOUGH AND POWERFUL MINORITY OF LDP MEMBERS OPPOSED TO THE TREATY ARE S OT SATISFIED THAT RATIFICATION IS IN JAPAN'S BEST SECURITY INTERESTS OVER THE 20-YEAR SPAN THE TREATY COVERS. THEY ARE UNCOMFORTABLE BECAUSE PRIME MINISTER MIKI HIMSELF HAS AT VARIOUS TIMES IN HIS HISTORY BEEN LUKEWARM ABOUT MAINTAINING THE ESSENTIAL SECURITY TIES WITH THE UNITED STATES UPON WHICH JAPAN WILL BE MORE DEPENDENT THAN EVEN IF THE TREATY IS RATIFIED. THEY THEREFORE WANT THE MIKI GOVT TO PRODUCE SOMETHING WHICH STRENGTHENS THOSE TIES AND THE NATURE OF THE SECURITY GUARANTEE BEFORE THEY CHANGE THEIR VIEWS.

2. NATIONAL SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS WHICH WORRY THESE LDP ELEMENTS OF COURSE REPRESENT SERIOUS CONCERNS. IN PRESENT SITUATION, HOWEVER, ISSUE HAS BECOME SUBJECT OF PUBLIC DEBATE AND CONTENTION PARTLY ALSO BECAUSE OF DOMESTIC POLITICAL FACTORS. MIKI HAS SET NPT RATIFICATION AS A
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PUBLICLY STATED GOAL OF HIS ADMINISTRATION AND WANTS THIS

ACHIEVEMENT AS PART OF HIS EFFORT TO CONSOLIDATE HIS SHAKY POLITICAL POSITION. FOR THIS REASON, OPPOSING FACTIONS -- INCLUDING FUKUDA AND OHIRA -- ARE RELUCTANT TO GRANT QUICK SUPPORT TO AN EFFORT THAT WOULD BOLSTER MIKI AND POSTPONE THEIR HOPE TO SUCCEED HIM. THE LEFTWING OPPOSITION PARTIES EACH HAVE TAKEN POSITIONS ON THE NPT, BUT THEY DO NOT FIGURE IMPORTANTLY IN THE PRESENT DEBATE.

3. IN HIS LAST TALK WITH AMBASSADOR HODGSON, THE FOREIGN MINISTER ESTIMATED THAT SEVERAL WEEKS WOULD BE REQUIRED BEFORE RECALCITRANT MEMBERS COULD BE CONVINCED TO AGREE THAT THE TREATY SHOULD AT LEAST BE INTRODUCED TO THE DIET. IN THE MEANTIME, GOJ'S QUANDARY IS HOW TO COUNTER THE ARGUMENTS OF ITS OPPONENTS, EITHER THROUGH BILATERAL STATEMENTS OR IN CONTEXT OF MULTILATERAL ENVIRONMENT AT MAY NPT REVIEW-CON.

4. WE EXPECT THAT JAPANESE WILL TRY TO DO BOTH. AT THE REVIEW CONFERENCE IN MAY THEY ARE LIKELY TO PRESS FOR FURTHER GUARANTEES FOR NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES EITHER AS PART OF DISCUSSION OF UN RESOLUTION 255, OR AS PART OF DISCUSSION OF AGENDA ITEM WHICH CALLS FOR STRENGTHENING OF THE NPT.

5. THE JAPANESE ARE NOW IN THE PROCESS OF DECIDING THE CONTENT OF WHAT THEY WILL SEEK FROM US AND THE WAY IN WHICH THEY WOULD LIKE IT TO BE HANDLED. AS FAR AS MODALITIES ARE CONCERNED, THE JAPANESE FAVOR DEVELOPING AN AGREED PRESS GUIDELINE FOR USE BY SPOKESMEN AFTER THE MEETING. THE DESIRED PRECISE WORDING OF SUCH GUIDELINE IS NOT YET CLEAR, BUT WE KNOW THAT THE SENIOR WORKING LEVEL OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE HAS BEEN STUDYING THE SAME US-DRAFTED LANGUAGE REJECTED BY THE JAPANESE SIDE AT THE TIME THE FORD-TANAKA COMMUNIQUE WAS NEGOTIATED IN NOVEMBER 1974. LANGUAGE READS AS FOLLOWS: "THE TREATY EMBODIES THE UNITED STATES' CONTINUING PLEDGE TO EXTEND TO JAPAN A NUCLEAR SHIELD IN THE EVENT ITS FREEDOM IS THREATENED BY ANOTHER NUCLEAR STATE."

6. FOREIGN OFFICE PROMISES TO CONSULT WITH US AS SOON AS PRELIMINARY VERSION OF GUIDELINE CLEARED AT SENIOR MINISTRY LEVELS, PROBABLY OVER THE WEEKEND. WE WILL REPORT FURTHER
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AS SOON AS WE CAN ASCERTAIN MINISTRY POSITION.
SHOESMITH

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